

SENATOR CHARLES S. ROBB

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, today I wish to pay tribute to my colleague from Virginia, Senator CHUCK ROBB, who will leave the Senate in January after 12 years of exemplary service to his state as a member of this body.

As others have noted, CHUCK ROBB has had a long and distinguished career in public service. He served his country for 34 years in the Marine Corps and reserves, and he is a highly decorated combat veteran. He was a widely popular governor of Virginia, who increased the state's education budget by \$1 billion, and appointed many women and minorities to top government jobs. And he has now served two terms as a United States Senator, where he has been praised for his leadership on national security, education, and the budget.

But I would like to note several aspects of CHUCK ROBB's Senate tenure that may not be quite as familiar, but for which I will always remember him and be grateful to him. The fact is that he was a hero on many issues: civil rights, human rights, and a woman's right to choose.

Time and time and time again, even in the most difficult and politically charged debates, Senator ROBB was steadfast in his support for the precious right of women to control their own bodies without interference from government.

He led the fight in the Senate to bring justice to African-American farmers throughout the nation who had been discriminated against by the Department of Agriculture. His legislation helped lead to the largest civil rights settlement in our history.

And then, in February 1993, he delivered a powerful and moving speech on the floor of the Senate, the message of which was that all of God's children, regardless of sexual orientation, should be treated equally in the military.

I will always remember Senator ROBB's eloquent words:

The issue should be not what kind of person you are but what kind of soldier, sailor, airman, or marine you are. . . . I would suggest to you, Mr. President, morale is in the heart of each service person. The threat to morale comes not from the orientation of a few but from the closed minds of many.

I was deeply touched by these words of tolerance and understanding, particularly because they came from one who had served so gallantly in the Marine Corps.

So I salute you and I thank you, CHUCK, and send you my very best wishes as you move on to new challenges.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the statement be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE ACT OF 1993
(Senate—February 4, 1993)

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. ROBB. Mr. President, I thank the chair.

What is it that makes an excellent soldier? I submit to you that it five basic virtues: Devotion to duty; loyalty to country, commanders, and comrades; skill in military arts; personal integrity; and courage. If you have these qualities, you can be an excellent soldier, whether your name of Manursky or Jefferson, Goldberg or Nguyen, Warner, Dole, Kerrey, or McCain.

A number of Americans who have these qualities, however, are being excluded from serving their country in the military for reasons beyond fitness or performance.

People have told me for some time that they cannot understand how someone who thinks of himself as a gung-ho marine can march to the music of a drummer that I do not hear.

Mr. President, the drummer I hear plays the Marine Corps Hymn. It still gives me a chill, and I still stand when it is played. I certainly do not want to detract in any way from the military's effectiveness or performance.

Because of that, I cannot stand by and let a policy that I consider less than perfect keep our services from attracting the best and most competent people. The issue should be not what kind of person you are but what kind of soldier, sailor, airman, or marine you are.

As a former marine who considers his 34-plus years in uniform and in the reserve to be the proudest affiliation of my life, I well understand those who argue the importance of maintaining morale and good discipline in the ranks.

But I would suggest to you, Mr. President, morale is in the heart of each service person. The threat to morale comes not from the orientation of a few but from the closed minds of many. President Truman recognized that when he ordered the services to be integrated by race despite the racial animosity of many then in service.

Do some of today's soldiers fear what they do not understand? Certainly, they do. Obviously. But should America's policy be guided by fear, or should be work to overcome prejudice by showing that merit and behavior, not orientations, are what counts in the military?

I have spent a great deal of time discussing this with a number of friends, including the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Gen. Colin Powell. Some think that I am simply on the wrong side of this issue, and I understand this and other objections to the proposal.

General Powell recently drew a difference between discrimination based on sexuality, which he called a behavior, and that based on race, which he called a benign characteristic. But I submit to you that race is obvious, until and unless it is expressed in conduct. And if that sexuality is expressed, it is no longer benign. Then it will run into the existing regulations of the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

The code offers sufficient protections against much of the conduct that supporters of this amendment fear. And it can certainly be expanded to prevent breaches of decorum or good order.

The specter of drill sergeants dancing together is unsettling, to say the least, Mr. President. But some of the amendment's supporters fail to note it is just the kind of behavior already prohibited by the Uniform Code, as is almost all of the conduct presented as a concern by those who are in favor of this particular amendment.

The President is the Commander in Chief of the Armed Services, and he sets the goals. Just as many military men were given the goal of ejecting Iraqi forces from Kuwait,

and led the plan and implemented that goal, I believe that the military should also be cast with making the President's goal a reality.

As a former military commander, I can tell you that if a goal of truly equal access to military service is to be reached, I believe that the military itself will have to come to terms with it.

That will best be done if given the proper role of implementing the President's directive. The hearings announced actually last year by the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee will add information and understanding to that process and will let us fulfill the Congress' proper role of ensuring that readiness is maintained while achieving the President's goal. But I ask we not let fear govern our actions. While we may not perfectly understand what motivates individual sexuality, we cannot allow that lack of understanding to block deserving patriotic Americans from service.

Mr. President, I hope that my colleagues will oppose the amendment offered by my distinguished and very respected colleague, the Republican leader, in this particular instance.

I yield the floor.

• Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to CHUCK ROBB, a friend and colleague whom I deeply admire. Throughout our service together in the U.S. Senate, I have observed Senator ROBB's unfailing commitment to principle. CHUCK ROBB served his country courageously in Vietnam, and he served the Commonwealth of Virginia just as courageously in the U.S. Senate. Time and again, he voted his conscience, despite pressures to the contrary. Senator ROBB let principle, not politics, be his guide during his service in the body. His conduct should give every American faith that legislators can conduct themselves in a way that does honor to our democracy.

Senator ROBB opposed the flag desecration constitutional amendment, opposed the Defense of Marriage Act, and supported spending cuts while opposing the politically popular tax cuts. He did what he thought was in the best interest of Virginians and the nation, and I thank him for that. The Senate is a better place for Senator ROBB's service, and I join my colleagues in wishing him and his family all the best as he moves on to new endeavors. •

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I would like to recognize the leadership and accomplishments of a respected colleague who will be departing at the end of this term. Senator CHUCK ROBB has served in the Senate as a representative of Virginia for more than a decade. During his tenure, he has been a strong advocate for a wide range of important legislative reform activities.

During his time in the Senate, Senator ROBB has fought to strengthen national security, maintain fiscal responsibility, and protect the environment. He has also been widely recognized for his longstanding commitment to improving education.

As a former Governor of Virginia, Senator ROBB was instrumental in increasing resources for schools. Building on these efforts, he spearheaded efforts to help states and localities build and

renovate schools, promoted legislation to put 100,000 new teachers in the classroom, fought for school safety initiatives, and championed measures to wire schools to the Internet. These are important efforts that have benefited children and teachers across the nation.

As colleagues on the Finance Committee, we have fought to address the challenges facing Social Security and Medicare. Just this year, we worked closely to develop a proposal to provide prescription drug coverage for all Medicare beneficiaries. I am proud to say that this proposal would provide much needed drug coverage to millions of seniors citizens and disabled individuals.

I would also like to note that I am proud to have worked with a colleague with such a distinguished military background. Senator ROBB served our nation for more than 34 years, during which time he received national honors for his leadership and commitment to serving our nation.

For these and many other reasons, I have been honored to serve with CHUCK ROBB. I would like to join my colleagues in wishing him and his family all the best in the future.

RETIREMENT OF SENATOR JOHN ASHCROFT

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, as we conclude the 107th Congress, we will be saying goodbye to our colleague and friend, Senator JOHN ASHCROFT of Missouri.

A former two-term Governor, JOHN ASHCROFT has earned a reputation in the Senate for his principled pursuit of conservative issues. He is also recognized as a strong proponent of the wide use of the internet by federal agencies as a way to make the government more responsive and accountable. As a leader in the term-limits movement, he carried out the innovative online petition drive.

Senator ASHCROFT served on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as well as the Commerce and Judiciary Committees. He established himself as a leader among Republicans on a range of issues from term limits to tax reform and welfare reform. While in many instances I have found myself on the opposite side of issues from John, I have always respected his intellect, his integrity, his principled positions and his ability to disagree without being disagreeable.

Since 1995, JOHN ASHCROFT and I have co-chaired the Senate Auto Caucus. In this capacity, we have worked together to provide Senators with up to date information on issues affecting the automotive industry and its employees. Through the Auto Caucus we organized informational briefings to give Senators and their staff and opportunity to better understand the auto industry's remarkable progress as well as the challenges it faces. The Caucus provides a forum for Senators to exchange

ideas on issues affecting the industry such as transportation, environment, trade, technology and health care.

Working together with Senator ASHCROFT's, we were able to increase membership in the Auto Caucus from six Senators to twenty-eight. The Auto Caucus played a leadership role in pressing the Administration to negotiate market opening trade agreements with Japan and Korea in the automotive sector and continues to weigh in on and monitor those agreements. In addition, the Caucus hosts meetings between Senators and Automotive CEOs, provides timely briefings on US-Japan and US-Korea automotive trade negotiations, and encourages the Administration to fight to open markets to U.S. vehicles and auto parts.

Last year, Senator ASHCROFT and I worked together to urge the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration to use an unbelted 25 mph barrier test instead of a 30 mph test to design air bags that will help better protect children, teenagers and small adults. Our work on this very complicated and controversial issue brought the Administration and Auto industry together to reach a result that will increase automobile safety.

We also worked together to continue the moratorium on unfair and ineffective increases in Corporate Average Fuel Economy standards and worked toward a compromise in the Senate to ensure that a National Academy of Sciences study of the effectiveness and impacts of CAFE standards will include the effect of those standards on motor vehicle safety as well as discriminatory impacts of those standards on the U.S. auto industry.

Also, we have worked together in the past to ensure that environmental regulations recognize and reinforce the voluntary environmental improvements and technological achievements of the automobile industry.

Not only will JOHN's contribution be missed in debate on the Senate floor, but his voice will be sorely missed, I suspect, by the "Singing Senators", the wonderful quartet in which he has joined with Senators LOTT, CRAIG and JEFFORDS. My wife and family, join me in wishing the best in the years ahead for JOHN, his loving wife (and co-author), Janet, and their family.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Senator JOHN ASHCROFT as he prepares to leave the Senate.

For the past six years, Senator ASHCROFT has done important work as a member of the Commerce, Judiciary, and Foreign Relations Committees in the United States Senate. For example, Senator ASHCROFT has focused on reforming our nation's use of agricultural sanctions during foreign trade disputes. We share a common vision that we must not use food as a weapon in our disputes with other nations, and Senator ASHCROFT has made a high priority of changing this policy. His work is important both domestically and

internationally, and he can be proud of his contributions.

I also appreciate Senator ASHCROFT's recent work with Senator DORGAN, Senator BOND, and me on the Dakota Water Resources Act. This legislation is critical for the economic future of North Dakota, and I greatly appreciate the constructive role Senator ASHCROFT played in representing the interests of his state. During discussions on this bill he was a tenacious advocate for his state's interests. His diligence in representing his state's interests, coupled with his willingness to gain an understanding of the water needs of my state, ultimately helped us reach a compromise acceptable to both states. The people of Missouri can be proud of his work fighting for their interests.

More generally, Senator ASHCROFT has been a man of his word who served his state and his country with distinction. I join my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in wishing him well in his future endeavors.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to a colleague and friend who will be greatly missed by the United States Senate—Senator JOHN ASHCROFT.

Senator ASHCROFT, served Missouri and the nation with distinction.

In the Senate, he was a leader in passage of landmark welfare reform legislation, authoring the Charitable Choice provision. He fought for lower taxes, a strong national defense, greater local control of education, and enhanced law enforcement.

A popular, former two term governor of his home state, JOHN brought a real "can-do" sense of purpose to his work in the Senate. I have always felt that those who come to the Senate with experience as governor, have especially valuable experience that the entire nation benefits from.

There is a term used throughout the 211 year history of the Senate called "Senatorial courtesy." JOHN won the admiration of his colleagues in many ways, especially his caring tradition of writing wonderful personal notes—not by computer—but always taking time to write them by hand.

We wish you, your wife and family well as you take on your new challenges.

RETIREMENT OF SENATOR ROD GRAMS

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, as this session of Congress comes to an end, I want to speak about my friend and colleague from the State of Minnesota, Senator ROD GRAMS.

A former television news personality, ROD GRAMS, in his term in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, quickly established himself as a proponent of assistance to farmers and as an advocate for the establishment of a national nuclear waste repository.

As a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he has been an